3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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made of two pieces of wood bound neatly together with plaited rattans, and bands of brass or silver.

The sword amongst the sea-Dyaks, though often precisely similar to the 'parang,' is frequently, amongst the Sebooyoh Dyaks, of a curved shape, the broadest part of the blade being at the point of its curvature, but not having the backward bend of the handle. It is altogether a more serviceable weapon, the hilt being generally made of deer's horn, very rudely carved. An ornament projecting from the lower part of the weapon, near the handle, serves as a guard for the hand; the handle of the weapon is generally ornamented with brass and silver; the sheath with a large bundle of the fine feathers of the argus pheasant, from which the quill has been pared, which, by its rigidity, would prevent the wind causing the feathers to wave about.

The spears of the sea-Dyaks are made of several forms, but those most used are the broad, double-edged blades, which are about one foot or more in length; these are attached to handles about six to eight feet long, as are also the sagittate blades, which are next in esteem. They are frequently made in pairs, so that their blades fit into a double case; they are then carried as one weapon. The 'sumpitan,' which is a tube of eight to ten feet in length, through which arrows or darts of nine to twelve inches are blown, the points of which are generally poisoned with the upas, are sometimes used by those Dyaks in the vicinity of the Kyans, from whom they have perhaps borrowed the practice; neither bows nor arrows are known in the islands.

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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224 the pigs, in hurrying down the declivity, often receive them in the breast, and being thus staked, soon bleed to death, and are discovered by the Dyaks. The smaller kinds of game, such as porcupines, palandok, or mouse-deer, small pigs, pheasants, and partridges, are caught in springes, and by those alone a clever woodsman can daily supply his family with this kind of food in abundance, the cord made use of for the [283] springes is of their own manufacture, very fine and strong; it is made from the inner bark of several kinds of trees. They have also cage-traps, into which the squirrels and mouse-deer are attracted by choice food, and which fall upon and detain them. Pigeons 223 and other birds are caught with springes and bird-lime placed in the trees which they frequent for food, particularly the different species of 'kayu ara' (Ficus), which are very abundant, and on which the many species of these birds delight to feed.

• 278 A practice of fishing, used by the Dyaks of all de-
226 scriptions, and which has been observed also of the
824 natives of South America, with whom these people have many things in common, deserves particular notice. It is called fishing with tuba, and is thus carried on: large quantities of the tuba being collected, which is the root of a climbing plant (Menispermum), though the same effect is produced by the fruit of a tree grown extensively for that purpose, the tribe intending to fish proceed in their boats to the mouth of a small river, or creek, which has a bar

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
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of sand at its entrance, so that, at low water, it has little or no communication with the sea; and having distributed the bundles of tuba in equal proportions to all the boats present, the persons in them proceed to beat up the roots on the thwarts of the canoes, frequently pouring water on them, until the whole of the narcotic principle is extracted and collected in the bottom of the boat, in the water which, during the process of beating, has been poured over the roots, and which has now become of a white milky colour. At low water, and at a signal given by the chief, all the boats simultaneously commence baling out the water charged with the narcotic into the river, and this, spreading through the waters in every way, stupefies the fish. The smaller ones, being most readily affected, first float upon the surface, and are taken with the light and sharp-pointed spears of the Dyaks. Soon the larger ones, beginning to feel its influence, also come to the top; then it is that the best of the sport commences: fishes of the largest size, together with small alligators, appear for an instant struggling to free themselves from the lethargy occasioned by the infected waters. The Dyaks, who are ever on the alert, paddle instantly towards them, and three or four of the barbed spears are immediately thrust into their scaly bodies by the different boats, which arrive together at the scene of their struggles: occasionally a large fish, in his dying agony, is too powerful for his assailants, one or two of whom

3: Low G-5 (1844 1847) 1848
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278 226 224 are sometimes dragged into the water, where, if the place be shallow, they dispatch their prey with their parangs or knives. Many other ludicrous accidents occur, which, when large crowds are assembled (as is the case when the tuba is collected at the expense of and for the amusement of the Europeans, and on which occasions the whole country is invited to be present, and those who wish to share in the sport), afford merriment to those who are merely spectators. From the first appearance of the fish the sport lasts about two hours, when the influx of water from the rising tide dissipates the narcotic, and such fish as remain recover from its effects. Other kinds of fishing are not much practised by the Dyaks, who trust almost solely to the Malays for their supply.

4: Roth E-4 (no date) 1891 OC6 Iban OC6

593 storm has blown over. People are often married twice or three
586 times before they find their partner for life. As the women do a fair share of work they are entitled to receive upon divorce one-half of the property acquired during coverture by their joint labour. Divorce is the reverse of common after a child has been born, but frequent enough before the event. The women fully understand the value of a husband and are careful to keep him in good humour, especially when there are extra mouths to feed. No divorce is absolute until the property has been divided and a ring given by the man to the woman as a token of her freedom to marry elsewhere.

595 Polyandry is unknown; clear cases of bigamy are of rare occurrence and not tolerated. No Dyak can have more than one wife at a time.

587 When a wife loses her husband by death she cannot marry
765 again (except by a special payment) until she has performed the last rites required by custom at the *Gawai Antu* (spirit feast).
684 If she do she is fined by the relatives of the deceased, for this is a slight upon his memory. The amount of fine is just the same as if he were still alive and she had abandoned him for another; and her new husband is fined at the same time for seduction. The fact is, a widow is regarded as belonging to her deceased husband until she is formally freed from him by the feast of the *Sungkup*. She is obliged to lead a virtuous life as long as she is in mourning or abide the consequences, which are severe in their nature, and involve her lover as well as herself (see p. 122).

762 Suicide is of frequent occurrence among the females, but is rarely resorted to by the males. The women, as we have said before, are so keenly sensitive of disgrace that many prefer, if anything untoward happen, to perish by their own act. They cannot bear to be found fault with by those whom they love, and if reproached by their parents or their husbands in at all
● [278] bitter terms for any irregularity in their conduct, they take poison; but the doses do not always prove fatal, and if a
[757] powerful emetic is administered in time death does not ensue. Fowl's dung is forced into their mouth to produce nausea, and the body is immersed in water. There is a hill in Sabaian
[775] (the next world), says tradition, covered with *tuba*, and suicides there enjoy undisturbed repose beneath the shade of the poisonous shrub. Despairing lovers, whose union upon earth was forbidden by harsh and unfeeling parents, are here reunited. Women have also been known within recent times to commit suicide to avoid the shame and disgrace of being sold into slavery.

Infanticide is occasionally practised to destroy the offspring

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 OC6 Iban OC6

Tubai fishing.—But the favourite form of fishing whether on a large or on a small scale is with the *tubai* root (*menispernum*) the juice of which is baled into the stream to poison its waters and to cause the fish to rise stupefied to the surface. The *empang*, or basket work screens, are first erected at the mouth of the river to prevent the escape of the fish into pure water. Each person brings his own *tubai*—a bundle or two. A *karangan* is selected where suitable stones abound. It must be two or three hours' pull from the entrance or the sport would be over too soon. The canoes line either bank, and at a given signal the entire *bâla*, *i.e.*, party, commence to hammer out the root and soak it in the water in the bottom of their boats. A few minutes later when all hands are ready the poisoned liquid is baled out into the stream, and the canoes after a short pause begin to drift slowly down the current, and as the fish rise to the surface, they are speared with fish-fork or captured with hand-nets. The best of the fun is over in an hour or two, but many remain, nevertheless, until late in the evening to watch for a fresh rise. The women join in the sport and scoop up the small fry with their nets. It is forbidden by custom to hurl the spear at the fish; any accident arising from an infraction of this rule is punishable by fine.

7. *Navigation.*

The canoes are hollowed out of a single log by means of fire and the use of the adze. The natives have no measure to ensure accuracy, but are entirely guided by the eye. Generally the canoe shows traces of the fire and water treatment it has received, the inner surface being soft and full of superficial cracks, while the outer surface is hard and close. When the shell has been sufficiently opened out, thwarts are inserted to prevent its shrinking as the wood dries. Planks or gunwales are stitched on to the sides to increase its volume, the seams being caulked with sago stems which are light and porous, and swell when wet and so keep out the water. Each of these side pieces is formed of an entire plank about 12 inches deep and about 1½ inches thick, laced on to the body of the canoe by flaxen cords and united to its opposite plank by the thwarts. The largest canoes have the sides made still higher by means of a narrow plank laced on to the first gunwale, and the seam again caulked. The canoe is alike at both ends, the stem and stern being both pointed, curved, and rising out of the water. There is no keel, and the canoe draws little water. There are no ribs nor is there any figure head.

To make a bark canoe the native simply goes to the nearest

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

it is impossible for the fish to escape. Even when the fisherman throws his spear at the fish, there is little chance of the fish escaping, because the bamboo bears it to the surface, and it is easy for the men to pick up the bamboo shaft and thus secure the fish.

Most of the people bring with them some *tuba* root, made up into small close bundles, the thickness of a man's wrist, and about six inches long. Early the next morning some of the canoes are filled with water, and the root is beaten and dipped into it. For an hour or so fifty or more clubs beat a lively tattoo on the root bundles, as they are held to the sides of the boats. The *tuba* is dipped into the water in the boat, and wrung out from time to time. This gives the water a white, frothy appearance like soap-suds. The Dyaks, armed with fish-spears and hand-nets, wait in readiness in their canoes. At a given signal the poisoned liquid is baled out into the stream, and the canoes, after a short pause, begin to drift slowly down the current. The fish are stupefied by the *tuba*, and as they rise struggling to the surface, are speared by the Dyaks. The large fish are thus secured amid much excitement, several canoes sometimes making for the same spot where a large fish is seen. The women and children join in the sport, and scoop up the smaller fish with hand-nets. The *tuba* does not affect the flesh of the fish, which can be cooked and eaten.

This form of fishing, when carried out on a large scale, is always a great event among the Dyaks, because besides the large amount of fish secured on these occasions, there is always a great deal of fun and excitement, and it is looked upon as a pleasant sort of picnic.

For superstitious reasons the Dyaks do not interfere with the crocodile until he has shown some sign of his

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

for the breath to act upon. These darts are sharpened to a fine point, and are carried in neatly carved bamboo quivers.

The poison that is used for these darts is obtained from the *epoh* tree (upas). Incisions are made in the tree, and the gutta which exudes is collected and cooked over a slow fire on a leaf until it assumes the consistency of soft wax. It is a potent and deadly poison. Some Dyaks say that the most deadly poison is made of a mixture of the gum from the *epoh* tree and that from some creeper.

A dart is put in at one end, and the *sumpit* is lifted to the mouth, and with the breath the dart is driven out. Up to twenty-five yards they shoot with accuracy, but though the darts can be sent fifty yards or more, at any distance greater than twenty-five yards their aim is uncertain.

Before starting on a war expedition, the Dyaks consult the omen birds. The headman of the village, with the help of a few chosen friends, builds a little hut at a convenient distance from the Dyak house, and stays there, listening to the voices of the birds. If the first omens he hears are unfavourable, he continues living there until he hears some bird of good omen. When this happens, the men get ready their war-boats and start for the appointed meeting-place.

The war-boat is generally made in the same way as the Dyak dug-outs in ordinary use, out of the trunk of one large tree, only it is very much larger and longer, and able to hold sixty men or more. They paint this boat with a pattern of red and white—the red is an ochre and the white is lime. It is propelled with paddles, and the steering is done with one or two greatly developed

621 423 356 141. A *sangga*, such as this, is the only object which can be properly regarded as belonging to the long-house as a whole. This was a topic which I frequently discussed with the Iban, asking them if there was any other kind of property which could be regarded as belonging to the long-house as a whole, and which had resulted from the co-operation of all its members. Always the answer was the same: only the main *sangga* fell into this category, and my own observations brought me to the same conclusion. After a *sangga* has been erected, its upkeep becomes a general duty, but within a few years, the rites which accompanied its erection fade in the memory, and responsibilities are neglected or evaded. At Rumah Nyala, the main *sangga* provided me with an excellent opportunity to observe Iban responses to corporate obligations. On several occasions it fell into serious disrepair. The usual trouble was the collapse of the side railings, making the slippery, notched log that remained, dangerous for young children. A few days after this had happened, Nyala, the *tuai rumah*, would parade up and down the long-house, announcing the damage obvious to all, and striving to round up a group of helpers. But his exhortations never met with any sort of general response; sometimes one or two unoccupied men would offer their assistance, but more often things would drag on for several days, until Nyala himself would gather the necessary *rotan* lashings, and make good the damage with his own hands.

Co-operation in Economic Affairs.

621 476 344 142. The Iban economic system is based on the cultivation of hill *padi*, but here again, there is never co-operation involving the whole community. Each *bilek-family* is self-sufficient economically, managing its own farm as an independent unit. Between small groups of *bilek-families*—especially in felling, dibbling, sowing and weeding—co-operation is customary, but rules of exact reciprocity are very strictly adhered to by all participants. It is, in fact, a system of labour exchange. There is only one phase of the agricultural cycle that is likely to concern the whole long-house: the firing of the farms. If farms adjoin one another, no one of them may be fired until a general conference (*baum*) has been held. This is to avert the danger of fire spreading without warning, and possibly leading to loss of life, or serious ritual offences like the burning of another family's *batu umai* (*whet-stone*). With this one exception, farms are freely managed as individual family ventures.

621 476 224 226 143. Hunting and fishing rights, which are very loosely defined, extend over the whole of the long-house territory, and occasional excursions into the territories of neighbouring communities are not objected to under Iban custom. In small long-houses, large animals, such as deer and pigs, are usually shared among all *bilek-families*, but here again, the principle is one of reciprocity, and all catches are expected to be shared out in the same way. In larger long-houses, the reciprocal groups is usually limited to about half-a-dozen neighbouring *bileks* of closely related kin. Brief mention may also be made of *tuba* fishing, which involves the co-operation of a large number of *bilek-families*. The method followed is to construct a dam (*impang*) across a slow flowing part of a river—a task in which all the men join: then all those participating—men, women and children—foregather at a chosen spot a mile or two upstream, each *bilek-family* bringing a bundle of *tuba* [278] (Derris alleptica) roots. After the necessary rituals have been performed, the roots are pounded up, and their poisonous juices gathered in canoes which have been half filled with water. This done, the milky fluid that results is all at once emptied into the river, and after an interval of about ten minutes, the whole party paddles off helter-skelter to net and spear the stunned and poisoned fish. Sometimes the whole community will join in the fishing, but participation is in no sense obligatory, and on most occasions it is usual to find persons from neighbouring long-houses also present. Moreover, although all *bilek-families* co-operate in providing the large quantity of *tuba* roots that is needed, there is, once the actual fishing begins, completely open and untrammelled competition. During *tuba* fishing, say the Iban, kinship ties are forgotten. Each *bilek*-family retains the fish which its members succeed in taking, and there is absolutely no attempt to divide up the total catch in equal proportions.

621 423 144. We may say then, that with the not very important exception of the *sangga*, the Iban long-house community holds no property in common ownership, nor is there any collective ownership of land. Again, in the economic sphere there is an absence of any kind of productive activity by the long-house as a whole.

The Position of Tuai Rumah.

621 552 [671] 145. In every Iban long-house there are two offices of great importance—one secular and the other ritual. They are the positions of *tuai rumah* and *tuai burong*. In most long-houses they are held by different individuals, but it is perfectly permissible for one man to hold both offices, and in some communities this does happen. Neither position *is ever* held by a woman. (*c.f.* Footnote No. 22). When used as an adjective, the word *tuai* means old, or mature, but as a noun it refers to any senior and influential member of a community. Here, the emphasis is not primarily on age, but on the personal qualities of the individual concerned. Thus, a party of young men setting off on an expedition (*bejalai*), to gather jungle produce, always has its leader, or *tuai*, though he may be no more than in his early twenties. And in long-house communities, able, though only middle-aged men often come to exert very considerable authority and influence. In all contemporary long-houses however, there is one man who holds the title of *tuai rumah*, or house headman.

146. Since the pacification of the Iban and the establishment of European government, the position of *tuai rumah* has undergone several important changes. To-day, a *tuai rumah* is looked upon as an intermediary between his long-house and the administrative system. The Government accepts him as the representative of his community, and often he is made responsible for the implementing of its policies. Again, he has been empowered to settle disputes within the jurisdiction of his own long-house. (In the Third Division, "a *tuai rumah* may investigate but shall not try any case the maximum penalty for which exceeds six *rumpkuls* under penalty of a fine of one pikul all to Government").(31) This means that the ultimate sanction of a *tuai rumah's*

(31) "Iba Dayak (Iban) Fines, Third Division," Kuching, 1940.